CIDAC 00561 TL4798
Centro de Documentação
1986

THE CCA ASSEMBLY'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS

How the Asian Ecumenical Movement Dealt with the East Timor Human Rights Issue at the 8th Assembly of the Christian Conference of Asia, Seoul, Korea, June 26 - July 2, 1985.

[redacted]

Published by:

CCA YOUTH
~~480 Lorong~~ 2
~~Toa Payoh~~
~~SINGAPORE 1231~~

September 1985

CCA YOUTH
Christian Conference of Asia
10 New Industrial Road, 5th Floor
SINGAPORE 1953
(Tel: 286-1511)

Contents

Sequence of Events

Appendices

1. Ham Seong, No. 4, 29 June, 1985.
   The issue is raised informally by youth newspaper.

2. Extracts from the Assembly Minutes.
   Indonesian delegation responds formally.

3. Letter to Steering Committee, 29 June, 1985.
   Youth invite Indonesian participation.

4. Ham Seong, No. 5, 1 July, 1985.
   Youth newspaper evaluates debate, suggests open process.

5. Letter to All Delegates, 1 July, 1985.
   Youth continue negotiations and set final time for Forum.

6. Statement on East Timor to CCA Assembly.
   Paper presented to informal forum by Father Francisco Fernandes, Catholic priest from East Timor.

7. Assembly News, No. 5, 2 July, 1985.
   Official newspaper highlights Indonesian withdrawal and East Timor issue.

8. Statement of the Indonesian Delegation on East Timor to CCA Assembly, July 2, 1985.
   Read out to Assembly plenary session on July 2.

9. Declaration on Behalf of East Timor.
   More than 100 churches and church-related organisations appeal for human rights in East Timor to CCA Assembly.

10. Resolution on East Timor.
    Many delegates sign resolution individually.

11. Cartoon on Assembly Proceedings.
    The dynamics of the final day provoke a banner-size cartoon.

EAST TIMOR RAISED AT CCA ASSEMBLY

Sequence of Events

29 June 1985 (4th day) SATURDAY

ISSUE RAISED INFORMALLY

The morning edition of HAM SEONG, the CCA YOUTH Forum newspaper, carried a report that 106 church organisations from Asia and the Pacific had signed a declaration condemning the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and affirming the right of the peopple of East Timor to self-determination. It gave a few details about the declaration.

In addition, the paper carried an insert detailing the church's response (mainly the Catholic Church), to this issue. (The insert was published by Christians in solidarity with East Timor with a grant from the Religious of the Sacred Heart, Australia.) See Appendix 1.

(It should be noted that it is normal for many issues to be raised informally in this manner during ecumenical assemblies.)

OBJECTION RAISED FORMALLY

Later in the morning, the head of the Indonesian delegation Mr Frans Tumiwa, addressed the Assembly complaining about the content of the paper and requesting that it be officially withdrawn. That matter was referred to the Assembly Steering Committee.

In the afternoon, the Assembly Steering Committee reported that it had agreed on a motion noting that the paper was not an official organ of the Assembly and that the Assembly had not officially considered the matter.

A very emotional debate ensued. Speakers demanded that an apology be made for what came to be called "tendentious" and "offensive" material. Only one or two speakers spoke of the human rights implications of the issue. Most emphasised their indignation that the situation of East Timor had been raised at all.

(The paper made no suggestion that East Timor should be discussed officially by the Assembly.)

A resolution was eventually passed withdrawing the paper. (The relevant portions of the Assembly minutes are attached as Appendix 2.)

FORUM POSTPONED

In the light of the plenary discussion, the Youth Forum decided to postpone their advertised informal forum on East Timor which had been scheduled for 7 pm that evening. Instead they wrote a letter to the Steering Committee (addressed to the CCA General Secretary, Dr Yap Kim Hao) stating that the forum would be postponed until lunchtime on Monday in the hope that the Steering Committee would assist in obtaining the cooperation of the Indonesian delegation in supplying a speaker. The letter further informed the Steering Committee that a visitor to the Assembly (officially registered as a visitor) would also speak: Father Francisco Fernandes, an East Timorese priest of the Catholic Church. It was stated that, regrettably, if no Indonesian person was able to participate the forum would have to go ahead anyway. (Monday was the second-to-last day of the Assembly and people were already leaving that day.)

This letter was handed to the General Secretary during the evening session of Saturday. (Copy of the letter is attached as Appendix 3. It is signed by Mr Fructuoso.T Sabug, Treasurer of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines who was a member of the Youth Forum held prior to the Assembly.)

30 June 1985 (5th day) SUNDAY

HARRASSMENT BY SECURITY OFFICIAL

Assembly participants attended local churches in the morning and everyone came together in the afternoon for a FESTIVAL OF FAITH at a high school auditorium in the city.

An official from the Indonesian Embassy appeared at this function and followed Father Fernandes around studying his face. After persistent attempts by Father Fernandes to avoid this official and to prevent himself being photographed by other Indonesian participants, Father Fernandes was forced to leave the Festival.

(It should be noted that this kind of harrassment and intimidation is not unfamiliar to either Father Fernandes nor to CCA. After addressing a United States Congress committee on a previous occasion, Fr Fernandes heard that one of his close relatives had been killed by the Indonesian military in East Timor.

After a young Timorese woman addressed the Asia Youth Assembly in Delhi last year, members of the Indonesian delegation persisted in taking close-up photographs, making inquiries about her flight route and flight number and passport details. There was also constant contact with the Indonesian Embassy in Delhi.)

1 July 1985 (6th and second-to-last day) MONDAY

OPEN PROCESS

The Monday edition of HAM SEONG carried an editorial considering the debate in plenary on Saturday and trying to put it into perspective. It suggested that the Indonesian delegation should try to contribute an open ecumenical process whereby the East Timor issue can be discussed. (See Appendix 4)

LETTER DELAYED, YOUTH ACCUSED

It was assumed by the Youth Forum participants that their letter to the Steering Committee would have been already considered and acted upon. They therefore advertised the forum at 1.30pm and, because no Indonesian name had yet been communicated to them, announced in general terms that an Indonesian speaker would also be present. This was a reasonable assumption since one of the main points made by Indonesian speakers on Saturday was that they wanted to be able to present their side of the story.

It was only late in the morning when the Youth Forum discovered that the CCA General Secretary had held on to their letter until Monday morning without passing it on to the Committee. This meant that Steering Committee had not, as would be presumed on such a matter, met with urgency on Saturday evening or during Sunday.

Thus when it finally met on Monday morning during the tea break there were accusations that the youth were forcing the issue when, in fact, Steering Committee had had more than 36 hours to act. Furthermore, it is normal for informal forums to be held outside the official programme of an ecumenical assembly without consultation with the assembly governing body.

It was a gesture of reconciliation and sensitivity by the youth that they involved Steering Committee and invited Indonesian participation despite the unfair and unfounded allegations made against the HAM SEONG paper.

COMMITTEE REFUSES TO ASSIST PROCESS

The response of Steering Committee was that the lunchtime forum should not go ahead but they would not assist in any negotiation with the Indonesian delegation. They stated that it was up to the youth to do this. Further they made known their displeasure at the pressure being placed on them by the youth.

Mr Sabug was informed of the Steering Committee decisions by the CCA President, Mr Victor Oorjitham, immediately after the break. Mr Sabug then contacted the head of the Indonesian delegation, Mr Frans Tumiwa, and requested their participation. Mr Tumiwa declined to give a definite response and said that the delegation would be busy at lunchtime as they had to go to the Indonesian Embassy.

FORUM POSTPONED AGAIN

At lunchtime the youth decided to hold a "planning meeting" and not the forum itself in deference to the wishes of Steering Committee and in the hope that an agreement on participation could be reached with the Indonesian delegation during the afternoon.

At least 50 people attended this planning meeting and, after considerable discussion, it was decided to hold the forum immediately after the final session that evening while every effort would continue to be made to obtain Indonesian representation during the afternoon. It was felt that it was impossible to delay the forum any further since there would be no opportunity to hold it on the last day of the Assembly and when many people would be leaving.

A senior Japanese delegate at the meeting expressed his understanding of the Indonesian delegation's reaction by saying that the Japanese church was the same during the 1930's. They did not know what their government was doing elsewhere in Asia and they would accuse anyone of disloyalty and unfriendliness if they raised criticisms which could not be true anyway.

INDONESIA DOES NOT RESPOND TO INVITATION

During the afternoon session, Mr Oorjitham announced the Steering Committee decision from that morning and criticised the youth for not following correct procedures. Mr Sabug replied that youth had made very effort to have a sincere encounter with the Indonesian delegation and to organise the forum well. (He and Ms Cynthia Lam (Hong Kong) had also further discussed participation with Mr Bert Supit from Indonesia.)

Mr Sabug had circulated a letter to all delegates earlier in the afternoon to let them know what was happening and to announce that the forum would go ahead that evening. (A copy of this letter is attached as Appendix 5.)

INDONESIA WITHDRAWS FROM CCA COMMITTEES

During the day the Indonesian delegation announced its decision to withdraw from all CCA decision-making bodies. (See Appendix 2.)

FORUM IS HELD

The forum was duly held for an hour after the final session in the evening. More than 80 people attended while the rest of the Assembly went to an official reception at the Sheraton Hotel.

The Forum was to have been co-chaired by Mr Alfred Jack (Pacific Conference of Churches) and the Rev Canon Hone Kaa (Maori Council of Churches) but, owing to the delays in holding the forum, they had already left Seoul. The chairperson was Mr Te Kitohi Pikaahu of Aotearoa.

Fr Fernandes presented a paper on the East Timor situation and this was followed by questions from the floor and also discussion on how to support the East Timor people in practical ways. (Copy attached as Appendix 6.)

2 July 1985 (7th and last day) TUESDAY

OFFICIAL COVERAGE

The July 2 edition of the official ASSEMBLY NEWS carried several articles relating to this debate. "Indonesian Churches Shock Assembly" reported on the Indonesian withdrawal from all committees of CCA. "East Timor" reported on Fr Fernandes presentation the night before. "Comment on Timor" was an editorial comment apparently against East Timor being raised at all. (See Appendix 7).

POLITICAL STATEMENT PERMITTED

The youth had been told repeatedly that all matters had to go through the Steering Committee before they could be raised on the Assembly floor. However, during the afternoon session on Tuesday an Indonesian delegate was permitted to make a political statement giving the Indonesian government's viewpoint on East Timor. (A copy of this statement is enclosed. It is a revised form of what was read out - revised by the Indonesian delegation. See Appendix 8.)

Attempts by youth delegates to allow a statement of equal time from the East Timorese viewpoint were met by a closure motion supported by the chair (Mr Oorjitham) and further debate was prevented when this motion was passed.

PRIEST LAYS STRUGGLE ON ALTAR

During the closing worship that evening Father Fernandes (without official permission) approached the altar during the youth drama (he was supported in this by the youth) and laid on it the declaration of support for his people made by so many church organisations. (Details of this Declaration are attached as Appendix 9.)

RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

A resolution on East Timor was circulated among the delegates on the final day. It received many signatures but it proved impossible to bring it to the Assembly floor. (See Appendix 10.)

(This is intended as a faithful record of events. Any corrections or additions would be appreciated and should be sent to CCA YOUTH.)

APPENDIX 1

HAM 함 성 SEONG

THE PAPER OF THE CCA YOUTH FORUM NO. 4 SATURDAY, 29 JUNE 1985

the PEOPLE who never smile

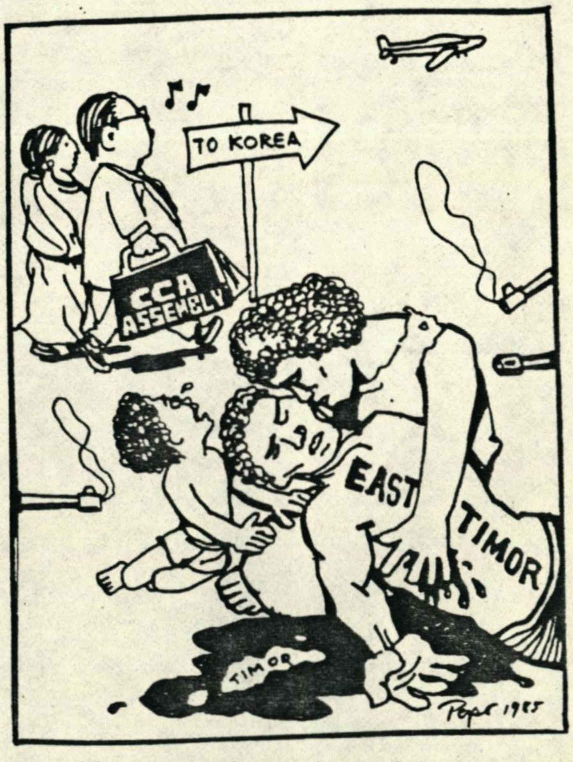
CHRISTIANS IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

Church groups call for self-determination in East Timor.

106 Church organisations from Asia, the Pacific and Australia, have endorsed a strongly worded declaration which condemns the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and affirms the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

The declaration comes at a time of renewed public concern over the situation in East Timor arising from fresh reports of continuing fighting and human rights abuses transmitted by the Fretilin radio from inside the disputed territory.

Last December Mgr Belo wrote to the French Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace: 'Despite all the forces against us, we continue to hold and disseminate that the only solution to the East Timor conflict is a political and diplomatic one, and this solution should include, above all, the respect for the right of a people for self-determination... As long as this is not implemented, there will not be a peaceful solution for East Timor'.



Pacific, have signed the declaration. They comprise bodies such as religious orders, lay organisations, Uniting Church Presbyterian, and a number of official bodies such as the Japanese, Hong Kong and New Zealand Catholic Commissions for Justice and Peace and the Protestant National Christian Council of Japan and officers of the Pacific Council of Churches.

the IMPORTANCE of EAST TIMOR

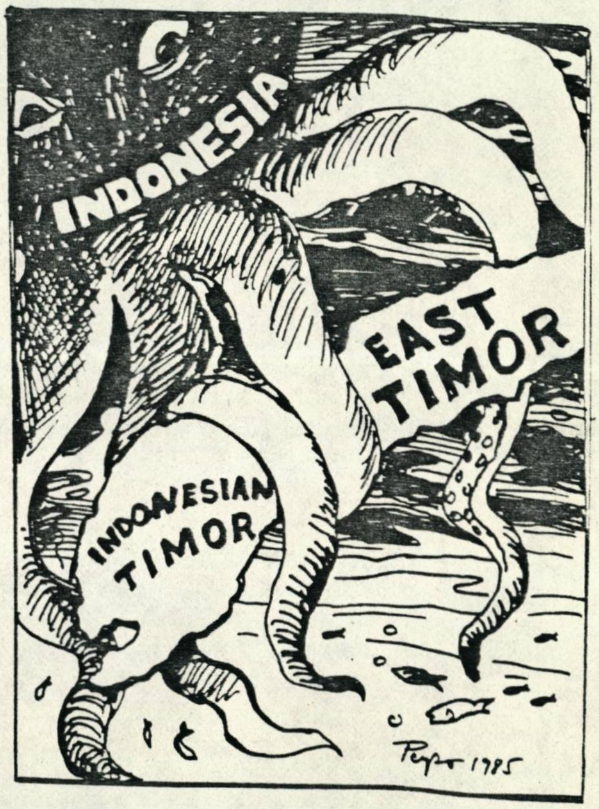
In the last decade, this S.E. Asian nation of less than 700,000 people has been invaded by the military might of its large neighbour, causing the deaths of 200,000 to 300,000 people, total economic, social, cultural and religious disruption, and untold horrors and sufferings, which continue to this very day.

EAST TIMOR:
the unmentioned reality

unmentioned
bypassed
shrouded in silence
is this how your Asian
siblings take you?
your land grabbed
by sheer mightier force
your people in bondage
will no one speak for you?
wallow not in despair, east
timor
young voices speak
they feel with you
they fight for you
getting louder
growing stronger
their shouts will amplify
your cries.

(This was motivated by the lack of mention of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in a report, mentioning Asian captivities, delivered at the 8th Assembly.)

~ jethro azgiram ~



EAST TIMOR GEOGRAPHY AND COLONIAL HISTORY

East Timor is 400km north-west of Darwin, Australia, at the Eastern end of the Indonesian islands. Further to the East is another land oppressed by Indonesia. This is the Western half of New Guinea, West Papua (Irian Jaya). The struggle for self-determination and human rights of the Melanesian people there has much in common with our own struggle.

East Timor shares a common land boundary with West Timor. The people of the island are of Malay/Melanesian origin, with some Chinese and Portuguese also.

This page and the next 3 pages comprise the insert of HAM SEONG.

EAST TIMOR'S STRUGGLE

The Church responds

In 1981 religious orders in East Timor confessed they 'felt stunned by the silence of the international Church which seemed to allow us to die deserted'.
Sections of the Church have since heard their cry for help.
Some of their responses can be found in these pages.
A much greater effort is required from the Churches, however, if the predominantly Christian East Timorese are to realise their dream of self-determination like other colonial peoples.

Pope pleads for East Timorese

'The Holy See continues to follow the situation in East Timor with preoccupation and with the hope that particular consideration will be given in every circumstance to the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of the people . . . You know the many efforts the Holy See has made to contribute to helping the people of that area and how it earnestly recommends respect for human rights.'
John Paul II, 7 July 1984

The former head of the Catholic in East Timor, ***Mgr. da Costa Lopes,*** *is received by* ***Pope John Paul II***

Timorese clergy: solidarity with the martyred people.

'We the priests of East Timor know the suffering and anxieties of our people and witness hopelessly the whole process of annihilation presented under the guise of truth and we foresee the implacable extermination of the people.'
Timorese clergy, 13 May 1983

'Despite all the forces against us, we continue to hold and disseminate that the only solution to the East Timor conflict is a political and displomatic one, and that this should include the right of a people to self-determination . . . We also want the words of Pope John Paul to be put into practice. As long as this is not implemented there will not be a peaceful solution for East Timor.'
Mgr. Belo, 5 December 1984

'Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at extensive areas along with an entire population is a crime against God and against humanity itself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation.' — ***Vatican II***

Under cover of darkness

It is now 10 years since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975. In that time over 100,000 East Timorese, one in six of the population, have died as a result of military activity and associated factors.

Yet despite this length of time and the scale of devastation, many are still not aware of the basic story. The reason is simple. Indonesia has been able to keep the general public in the dark by denying unrestricted access to independent observers thereby keeping the grim reality of what has happened off TV screens and out of the newspapers. At the same time Jakarta has pursued a vigorous propaganda campaign designed to convince the world that the East Timorese are happy and prospering and that resistance is minimal to non-existent. And Western Governments have promoted this perception in the interests of good relations with the pro-Western Suharto Government.

The real story

The Church in East Timor tells a very different story. Its close contact with the people through its network of mission stations has kept it well informed and well placed to monitor the effects of the Indonesian occupation on the people. 50% of the population is Catholic.

Thus in September 1981 Catholic Religious gave this blunt overview of what Indonesia has presented as an act of liberation. 'Since the invasion what the people have experienced is war, looting, destruction of the indigenous population, territorial subjection, colonial exploitation, the expulsion of an indigenous population who are replaced by people from other islands, military occupation, attempts at mass mobilisation of ordinary citizens to make war on each other . . .'

Intensive military activity resumed in 1983 after a brief ceasefire. 'Last 1983', wrote Mgr Belo in December 1984 to the French Church, 'the military started once more their mop-up operations to exterminate the remaining forces of Fretilin. Up to now there has not been any victory on either side'.

Renewed abuses of human rights inevitably accompany such campaigns. 'In many places there are violations of human rights, assassinations and cases of arrest and imprisonment without trial of anyone suspected of having links with Fretilin. The families of the prisoners are in bad condition', Mgr Belo told the Age in July last year. Some 3000 Timorese are being held as political prisoners, most of them on the small island of Atauro off Dili.

The effects of the war are widely felt. 'The numbers of orphans, widows and areas where there is extreme lack of food and medication is also on the increase', Mgr Belo informed the French Church. Heavier restrictions are clamped on the hundreds of resettlement centres into which the bulk of the tribal people have been moved lest villagers pass on medicine and other assistance to the resistance.

Development . . . but for Indonesia

The Church concedes that Jakarta has invested heavily in development projects, particularly since 1980. But 'it is the military who organise everything', said a religious superior in 1982. 'The Timorese civilian leaders stand like statues unable to do anything or say anything against what the military are doing . . . The Government is building houses and roads and schools, but the people cannot feel this is helping them. They do not feel they are consulted as to what should be done for their area.' Alienation is a common theme of Church assessments. 'The development program has not satisfied the Timorese. It has not made them happy. They feel it is not for them, but for Indonesia', said Mgr Belo last year.

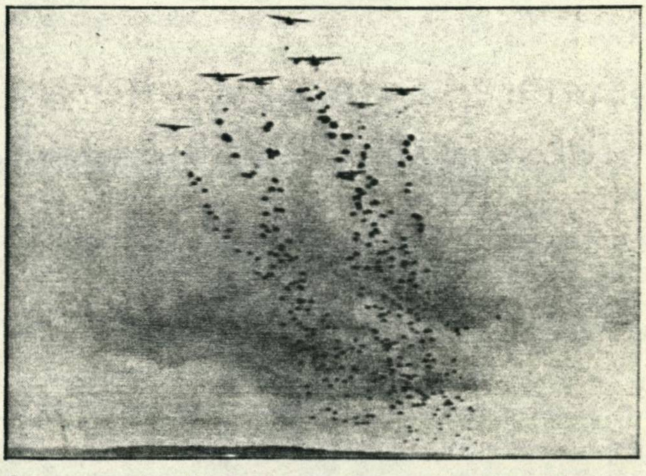
Cultural genocide

War and repression have created widespread physical suffering and trauma and have been repeatedly condemned by the Church. What preoccupies the Church more and more, however, is the more subtle and long term destructive impact of the Indonesianisation program being carried out through the influx of Indonesian transmigrants, the teaching of Indonesian language and culture in the many schools, the acculturation of the young in Indonesian universities in Java, the massive resettlement of tribal people. 'There is a Timorese culture', asserts a recent Church statement, 'made up of words, attitudes, reactions, behaviour, ways of being and seeing the world . . . The attempt to Indonesianise the Timorese people through powerful Pancasila (Indonesian state ideology) campaigns, schooling and media, by divorcing the people from their own weltanschauung, represents a slow assassination of Timorese culture. To kill their culture is to kill the people themselves.'

The people never smile

Continuing Timorese antipathy towards Indonesia is hardly surprising therefore. The New Zealand journalist, Martyn Bates, who visited East Timor in March 1983 concluded the majority of East Timorese were engaged in what he termed 'cold war' with their Indonesian masters. Both he and Portuguese journalists who visited at the same time were struck by the heavy atmosphere of fear pervading Timor. 'Most of the people are afraid . . . most of them keep silent', the then head of the Catholic Church, Mgr Lopes, told Bates.

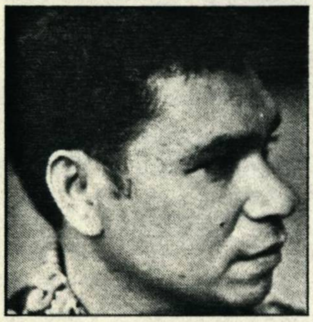
This continues today. A West German MP who visited the territory early in 1985 concluded 'the overall impression throughout the entire island is of a place in captivity. The people never smile . . . Here in East Timor, the people look stern, bitter, hostile and numb'.



*Indonesian commandos parachuting into **Baucau** during the 1981 offensive. Three years earlier in 1978, **General Dading**, the Indonesian commander for East Timor, had flatly asserted 'the whole thing will be over by the end of this year . . .'*

Timorese Church seeks justice

Mgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes



Mgr. Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo*, 37, appointed head of the Catholic Church in East Timor by the Vatican, May 1983.*
'I am ready to be removed if that is the price of defending human rights and the rights of the Timorese. The truth should be published'*, said the Mgr, in July 1984.*

Self-determination

'There is a special and profound respect for the Church. Everything the people know they tell to priests. The East Timor Church has listened intently for the nearly nine years since the Indonesian invasion.

In the absence of genuine self-determination and independence, the war and misery in East Timor will continue indefinitely. We in the Church know that the resistance of the East Timorese people continues on all levels — in their hearts and souls, in their prayers to God'.

Mgr da Costa Lopes, 12 June 1984

Material aid not enough

'It would be a tragic and cynical illusion to believe that humanitarian aid and material things alone could resolve the question of East Timor . . . No material goods can ever compensate for the denial of self-determination and independence, for the unending bloodshed and violence.'
Mgr da Costa Lopes to the American bishops, 12 June 1984

'I cannot understand why some nations willingly sacrifice the right of self-determination of East Timor in exchange for commerce.' *Mgr da Costa Lopes, 21 February 1984*

A Diplomatic solution

'Despite all the forces against us, we continue to hold and disseminate that the only solution to the East Timor conflict is a political and diplomatic one and this should include, above all, the respect for the right of a people to self-determination'. *Mgr. Belo, 5 December 1984*

Indonesian withdrawal and negotiations

'If Indonesia is determined to colonise East Timor by force, things will become more difficult. There will be more resistance from the Timorese . . . The best way to restore peace and protect the rights of the people is for a cease-fire to be declared, Indonesian military reinforcements withdrawn and negotiations resumed between Fretilin and the provincial administration'.

Mgr. Belo, 16 July 1984.

CHURCH STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT

Indonesian Bishops

'The Catholic Church in Indonesia, inspite of all restrictions has made every possible effort to express its solidarity and friendship with the Faithful and the people of East Timor who are being deluged by most bitter trials both physically and spiritually.

We struggle so that with respect for all persons and with urgent haste we may attain first and foremost: a return to peace for all those who are now at war. We struggle through various ways to enforce acknowledgement and respect for those things which are considered most sacred by the people of East Timor: their religion, their family and their land.'
Jakarta. 17 November 1983

Portuguese Bishops

'The Portuguese Episcopate cannot help but manifest in a public document its living and deep solidarity with the people of this martyred country, victim of a tragedy which started nearly nine years ago and which unfrotunately continues until now.

It would be an illusion to think that behind the sad events that have developed in East Timor, there is no strongly felt awareness of a national identity which refuses to be repressed or annihilated.

Timor aspires to the full expression of its own individuality and to hinder it signifies not only a physical genocide, but also we can say a 'cultural' genocide, this latter one being more grave because it affects as much the people who are dying as those who survive, and not the present generations but also those of the future.

The Church can and should make its voice heard so that the injustices suffered by the Timorese people will cease and that the Timorese people can, by themselves, in peace and in liberty, determine their own future.'
Lisbon, 12 March 1984

Christian Conference of Asia Youth Assembly

This Assembly adopted a resolution expressing 'solidarity with the Church and the People of East Timor in their struggle for peace and justice.' The resolution called for a cease-fire, the withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces, dialogue with all parties, and a 'political settlement to uphold the right of the East Timorese to self-determination'.
New Delhi, 10 October 1984
A similar resolution was adopted by a CCA sponsored peace conference held in Japan, February 1985.

Anglican Synod

The Melbourne Diocese adopted a resolution affirming 'the right of the East Timorese people to a genuine act of self-determination' and requesting that 'the Australian Government should uphold this right in all future UN deliberations'.
September 1983

Australian Orders

'We write to you as a neighbouring Church . . . in response to your repeated calls . . . to recognise your struggles for justice and a peaceful resolution . . . We cannot condone any attempt to resolve the disenchantment and oppression of the people of East Timor through the exercise of military power, dislocation and harassment'.
National Council of Religious Superiors.
July 1984

Catholic Institute for International Relations

'The Indonesian Government must recognise, after a decade of repression which has not quelled opposition to its rule, that no political settlement for East Timor will be workable if it does not command the assent of the people of the territory . . '

Comment, March 1985

Belgian Church centre

'To be the voice of, and to stand up for, the genuine rights of its people is a heavy burden for the Church in East Timor. To carry on she needs not only sympathy but real support from the sister Churches all over the world, not only to alleviate the suffering of her people but to stand up for the internationally recognized right of self-determination.'
Pro Mundi Vita Dossier, 1984

CHURCH STATEMENTS

Catholic lay organisations

'East Timor is one of the most tragic and solitary exceptions in recent history to the provision in international human rights Agreements that peoples have the right to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.' *Pax Romana, Geneva, 15 February 1985*

'The moment has come for the international community to intervene before it is too late. This conflict cannot be resolved by armed force but only by negotiations around the conference table in which all parties, including Fretilin, are involved.'
Pax Christi, Geneva,
15 February 1985

Japanese Catholic Council for Justice and Peace

'Out of Christian concern for our suffering brothers and sisters in East Timor, we wish to plead with Your Excellency to do all in your power to carry out the mandate in your new constitution to make every effort to work for the realization of self-determination for the East Timorese who, despite annexation and invasion by Indonesia, continue to struggle for their independence and for the survival of their culture
Letter to Portuguese Prime Minister,
19 June 1984

Australian Catholic Relief

ACR was one of the first agencies to respond to appeals for help from the East Timorese Church after the Indonesian invasion. Since 1975 it has contributed $434,000 to the relief and rehabilitation programmes of the Timorese Church.

Dutch Church agency

'Integration (with Indonesia) is not in conformity with the will of the majority of the Timorese people . . . The resistance has a far broader social basis than the Indonesian authorities would have us believe.'
Catholic Commission for
Justice and Peace, April, 1984

Australian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

In a submission to the Australian Senate, ACCJP called for 'a genuine act of self-determination' in the long term, and in the short and medium term, 'social and cultural autonomy', humanitarian aid, family reunion and access for independent observers.
29 March 1982

What others are doing

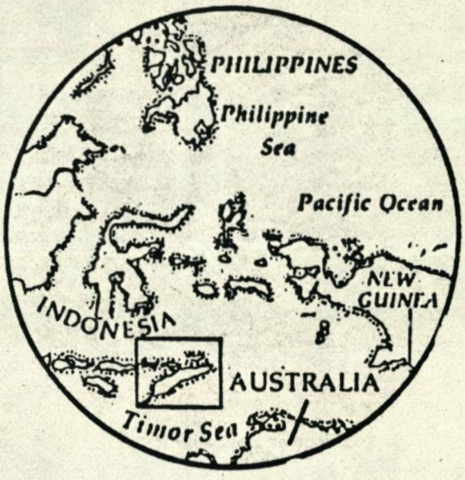
One model for a local initiative

In 1982, in Melbourne Australia, a group of Christians from various churches set up an East Timor support group in response to appeals for international solidarity from the Church in Timor. Called ***Christians in Solidarity with East Timor***, the group meets once a month, shares information and parcels out a variety of tasks to its members. Its twelve members keep a larger network of 200 individuals and groups informed via a small newsletter. CISET's four point program comprises:

- the promotion of open communication between the Timorese Church and the International Church;
- the promotion in the churches of a better understanding of the situation in East Timor and the issues surrounding it;
- encouragement of the formulation of policy on East Timor by official bodies within the churches;
- upholding the fundamental rights of the East Timorese people.

In pursuit of these aims the group has held seminars for Church people, circulated petitions, organised prayer vigils, participated in peace marches, written brief articles for church media, spoken to church groups, assisted church bodies with the formulation of policies on Timor, written regularly to Government Ministers and MPs.

Address: CISET, PO Box 1092, North Fitzroy 3068, Australia.



Newsletters

Timor Link. *Available: CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF, U.K.*

East Timor Report. Available ACFOA, 183 Gertrude St., Fitzroy 3065, Australia.

What you can do

Talk to others and circulate information with special reference to what the East Timorese are saying.

Inform your local clergy, church leaders, church organisations, and MPs and ask for their support.

Set up a group like CISET and enlist the support of similar interest groups.

Encourage church organisations and conferences to adopt strong resolutions on East Timor and convey these to the Government and media.

Send statements of support to the East Timor Church, addressed to Mgr. Belo, c/-Papal Nuncio. Jl. Merdeka Timur 18, Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia.

Example of a conference resolution on East Timor

This conference: SHARES the deep concern of the worldwide Christian community at the continuing suffering, violence and abuse of human rights in East Timor;
EXPRESSES its solidarity with the Church and people of East Timor in their struggle for peace and justice;
JOINS with the head of the East Timor Church, Mgr. Belo, in calling for a cease-fire, the withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces and a dialogue between Indonesia and the Fretilin-led resistance;
URGES the United Nations Secretary-General and the Portuguese Government, in their efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the conflict, to insist that the East Timorese people, including Fretilin, be fully involved in all negotiations on the basis of their UN-recognised right to self-determination.

For further information, additional copies of this pamphlet, and regular contact, write to:
CISET, *PO Box 1092, North Fitzroy 3068, Australia.*

Published by Christians in Solidarity with East Timor with a grant from the Religious of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ) Australia.

RUS LITTLESON / PHOTO-OFFSET PRODUCTIONS

Appendix 2

MINUTES OF THE CCA ASSEMBLY
SEOUL, JUNE 26 - JULY 2, 1985

Extracts

1. Item 7: NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

"Mr Frans Tumiwa, on a point of order drew the attention of the Chair to Document No. 4 relating to East Timor which was being circulated among the participants and a poster on the same subject that was put up at the Assembly premises. He said on behalf of all the Indonesians he would like to register his protest and also request the Chair to take steps for their immediate withdrawal. The President, Canon Alan Chan in his reply stated that the matter will be put up before the Steering Committee and its decision will be informed to the Indonesian delegates."

2. Item 8: NOMINATION AND ELECTIONS OF GENERAL COMMITTEE AND PROGRAMME COMMITTEES

"Dr Dutton informed the Assembly that he had overlooked a note handed over to him. The note signed by Mr A Frans Tumiwa and Rev Nico Radjawane stated that the Indonesian delegates had decided not to propose any names for the various CCA Committees. Indonesians also requested that they be allowed to withdraw their nominations from the General Committee. Subsequent to the reading of the note Mr Frans Tumiwa expressed regrets for having arrived at the above consensus. He said it does not mean that they will not participate in CCA. However, at the same time we wish to express our concern with the way CCA has been dealing with some of the issues concerning Indonesia. The members of the Indonesian delegation feel the churches in Indonesia were being pushed by CCA to conduct themselves in such a way that they were likely to loose their uniqueness. By not taking part in CCA affairs will give us some time to reflect and reconsider our participation in the life of CCA. Our action should not be treated as withdrawal. We will continue to support the work of CCA. We came to the Assembly with a lot of expectations. We represent the country where CCA was founded. However, for the past few years some CCA activities have been a source of great concern for us. We regret that the Indonesian point of view has not been understood.

Mr Oh Jae Shik of Korea replying to the Indonesian concern stated he was embarrassed that the action by the Indonesians should take place in Seoul. He went on to say that we have all come to Seoul in the spirit of ecumenical sharing and fellowship. It is this spirit which demands that we clear up all misunderstandings.

Rev Tsutomu Shoji of Japan said he was shocked by the decision of the Indonesian sisters and brothers. The Indonesian contribution had enriched the CCA. There may be some differences in the understanding of our mission but this was inevitable as we come from diverse cultures and situations. The name of the Indonesian nominee for the General Committee has already been tabled. If it was withdrawn it will be a tremendous loss for CCA.

Rev Ron O'Grady of Aotearoa said that the Indonesian action showed how fragile the unity of the church was in Asia. Over the years the CCA has changed its agenda and also its style of operation but its structure had not changed with the result at times it was found inadequate to handle issues. He felt both the youth and the Indonesians were saying the same thing from different angles. The Indonesians are prepared to discuss East Timor at certain forums.

Rev David Gill of Australia said he could understand the feeling of frustration among the Indonesians as well as among the youth. He pleaded with the Indonesian to reconsider their decision and remain active participants in CCA. Dr Yap Kim Hao said the Indonesian action was the cumulative effect of previous incidents which had crystallized their frustrations. He felt the new General Committee should consider the problem seriously. Meanwhile, we should respect the decision of the Indonesians. He appealed for mutual understanding. The Assembly passed a motion to accept the list of nominations and allow Rev Augustina Lumentut, the Indonesian nominee, to keep her name in abeyance. Mr Victor Oorjitham submitted the report of the Steering Committee on the Indonesian objection to circulation of Document No. 4. The report which was adopted by the Assembly with some amendments is as follows:

> "The Steering Committee reports the distribution of the CCA Youth Forum Document No. 4 is not an official document of CCA Assembly. The views stated in the document were not discussed or cleared through this Assembly and it should be withdrawn."

Dr Denis Dutton presented the names proposed for the nine Programme Committees of the CCA. These were accepted after some amendments. (See Section IX)."

Appendix 3

29 June 1985

Assembly Steering Committee
c/o General Secretary
CCA Assembly
SEOUL

Dear General Secretary

In the light of the discussion at the plenary this afternoon, we have decided to postpone the informal address on East Timor until lunchtime on Monday.

We do this in the hope that the suggestion can be taken up that both sides be presented to participants at the Assembly at an informal session. We therefore request you to place this suggestion before the Steering Committee at the earliest opportunity and to discuss the possibility of a member of the Indonesian delegation presenting their views at this informal gathering.

We suggest that the gathering be held in the plenary hall at 1.30 pm on Monday for at least one hour.

The person who is prepared to give his knowledge and experience of the East Timor situation is Father Francisco Fernandes, an East Timorese priest of the Catholic Church. He is registered in this Assembly as a visitor.

We earnestly hope that our Indonesian brothers and sisters will accept this invitation to participate and that you will find this an acceptable suggestion.

In the unfortunate event that there is no Indonesian speaker then only one view will be presented but this cannot be helped.

Yours sincerely

F T Sabug
Delegate

HAM SEONG

THE HERESY OF GOOD ECUMENICAL RELATIONS

EDITORIAL

As we all know, the state ideology of national security is used to oppress the people and perpetrate injustice in the name of the "national interest".

Judging by the debate in Saturday's plenary on our "East Timor edition", the official ecumenical movement may have come up with its own equivalent. We shall call it the heresy of good ecumenical relations.

This involves keeping smooth and tidy relations between ecumenical bureaucracies and between churches while relegating issues of injustice to occasional consultations in sunny places or, more simply, sweeping them under the mat.

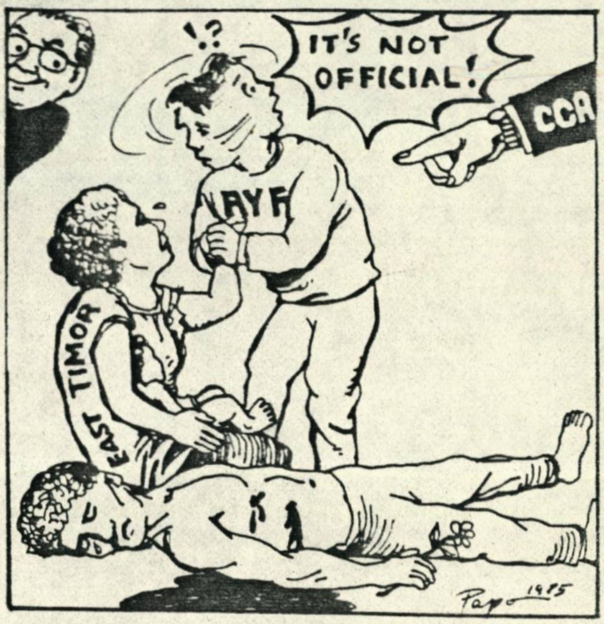
Regrettably, the book-burning on Saturday lacked the colour and excitement of medieval times, It rarely rose above indignation. Basic questions were not discussed. Also, voting to withdraw a document it never produced and could not withdraw even if it did, left the Assembly with a bad dose of self-inflicted silliness.

What was in our last edition anyway?

The front page carried a report on a declaration which condemns the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and affirms the right of the people of East Timor and affirms the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. This report did just that - it reported.

The speech by an Australian delegate characterising an obvious typographical error ("Uniting Church presbyterian" should have read "Uniting Church presbyteries") as deliberate deception was unworthy of him.

The report further noted that the declaration was signed by the national Catholic Commissions for Justice and Peace of Japan, Hongkong and New Zealand, by the National Christian Council of Japan and the officers of the Pacific Conference of Churches (both the latter being signed by their respective general secretaries).



We neglected to mention the SCMs of Australia and the Philippines, the YWCAs of eight major Japanese cities, numerous Catholic orders and dioceses, ecumenical agencies and committees.

This adds up to a considerable groundswell of ecumenical opinion. How then does this report become "tendentious" and "offensive" as we were told on Saturday? It was neither of those things.

Next, there was the cartoon of delegates departing for Seoul while ignoring or not being aware of East Timor's agony. Since the woman in the picture is wearing a sari, it is difficult to understand how some Indonesian delegates saw it as referring to them alone.

But, whoever is depicted, the point remains. The official Asian ecumenical movement has not shown even the slightest concern through CCA for East Timor's bitter experience ever since the Indonesian invasion ten years ago. It is a dark stain on the conscience of the Asian churches and will remain so until we actively formulate a Christian response to such suffering.

It is not the aim of this paper to offend any delegate. Reporting on the excesses of the Marcos dictatorship is not intended to offend Philippine delegates. It is a sharing of problems and struggles which must be supported by us all. The same applies to East Timor. No personal offense was intended.

But, whether intended or not, the claiming of an affront seems to be sufficient to prevent the main issues being discussed. In the future, we hope our Indonesian friends will offer to participate in formulating an open ecumenical process whereby East Timor can be discussed and acted upon by the whole CCA constituency. Why not propose that CCA International Affairs hold a consultation on East Timor at which all sides can be represented? Such an open process has not been possible for the past 10 years. Let us make it possible now.

Finally, the inserted glossy pages entitled "The Church Responds" were also vilified by a few delegates. They record statements from the Pope, heads of the East Timorese church, the Indonesian and Portuguese bishops and so on. A more respectable list of church leaders would be hard to find. CCA is constantly told it should listen to the local churches. Why don't we want to listen to the local East Timorese church leaders? Because they are inconvenient? Because we could not remain silent in the face of the suffering of these Christians? Or because they are Catholics and not members of CCA?

Contrary to appearances on Saturday, it is our judgement that there are many delegates in this Assembly who care deeply about the situation in East Timor and want to respond. They were silent on Saturday because the motion achieved its aim of suppressing any official debate on this issue.

We look forward to a healthier process for dealing with this issue in the future. The East Timor people need our support and they will not give up.

Appendix 5

LETTER TO ALL DELEGATES

Dear friends

After the plenary discussion last Saturday, it was decided to postpone the Forum on East Timor until today lunchtime in the hope that the Indonesian delegation could nominate a participant to put their views at the same time as the East Timorese person present at the Assembly.

Steering Committee was requested by letter on Saturday to facilitate the Indonesian participation.

This morning the Committee decided that this negotiation should be a matter between those organising the Forum and the Indonesian delegation. They further decided that the Forum ought to be postponed until such negotiation had been undertaken.

Before lunch today I spoke with the head of the Indonesian delegation, Mr Frans Tumiwa, and requested his help in arranging for an Indonesian presentation at the Forum. He was unable to give a definite response.

Today's Forum was postponed as requested but around 50 people met at lunchtime to discuss what should be done next.

We decided as follows:

1. The Indonesian delegation should be approached again in order to ascertain whether or not they wish to participate in the Forum.
2. Owing to time shortage (with the Assembly approaching its end) we decided to hold the Forum in the Plenary Hall at 6 pm today or whenever the final plenary session ends today.

Therefore, we are unable to say at this time whether or not there will be Indonesian participation. However, the invitation has been sincerely extended since last Saturday and we will pursue this until the last minute.

Please stay at 6 pm and listen to what Father Francisco Fernandes has to share about the problems of his people in East Timor and hopefully also to hear from our Indonesian friends.

Yours sincerely

F T Sabug
Delegate, Philippines

1 July, 1985

STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR TO THE CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF ASIA ASSEMBLY

Seoul, South Korea, June 1985

- Father Francisco Fernandes

Dear friends in Jesus Christ,

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for this opportunity to speak to you about East Timor.

This is a privileged moment for me. For two reasons. First, because, to my knowledge, I am the first East Timorese to have the opportunity of presenting our case to the Churches of the Christian Conference of Asia in Assembly, even though it is nearly 10 years since Indonesia invaded and annexed my country. Second, I am deeply conscious of my responsibility to my people who are one of the few oppressed peoples in the world to be persistently denied the freedom to speak for themselves. East Timor, as a recent article in the German magazine Der Spiegel put it, is 'a place in captivity', a prison. My people must depend on refugees like myself to lift the heavy batik blanket under which Indonesia has smothered them to give the outside world a glimpse of the true reality.

For the last 500 years, with the exception of one brief period in the 1970s, East Timor's history has been one of foreign colonisation.

The Portuguese arrived in Timor about 1520 in search of sandalwood followed by the Dutch. By the turn of the 20th century the island of Timor was divided between these two powers with the Dutch administering West Timor and the Portuguese the eastern half. As part of the Dutch East Indies West Timor was automatically incorporated into the new Republic of Indonesia in 1949. East Timor continued to be administered by Portugal until 1974 when a new Government in Lisbon chose to decolonise its overseas territories, including East Timor.

This was a momentous time for us, full of uncertainty and hope. For the first time in centuries the way was cleared for political self-determination by the East Timorese people.

It is important to note, at this point, that at no time during the preceding 29 years since 1945 did President Sukarno or the Suharto Government lay claim to East Timor, though it fought vigorously for its claim over West New Guinea, now West Irian.

In fact before 1974, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, the late Adam Malik, made several statements to the effect that if a liberation movement started in Portuguese Timor, the Indonesian Government would support it if this was the wish of the indigenous people. And after Portugal's decolonisation decision in 1974, Malik repeated this policy stating unambiguously on paper the Indonesian Government's respect for the right of the East Timorese people to independence, disavowing any Indonesian intention to occupy East Timor, and pledging to respect and support 'whoever will govern East Timor in the future after independence'.

The two majority parties which emerged in 1974-5, UDT and Fretilin, favoured independence as opposed to integration to Indonesia advocated by the small Apodeti party.

In other words independence was the clear, considered choice of the East Timorese people before 1975. That is to say that resistance to integration with Indonesia is not a recent development, simply an emotional reaction brought on by the Indonesian invasion and its accompanying suffering. Timorese resistance is much deeper. It is not, therefore, something that will be overcome by belated benevolence on the part of the Indonesian Government, the crude showering of material gifts in the form of new roads and public buildings.

In mid-1975, however, internal divisions and pressure from Indonesia led to the collapse of the UDT-Fretilin coalition and a short, sharp civil war. As a result of this some 3000 Timorese died and the Portuguese administration abruptly withdrew. This upheaval and the victory over UDT by the more radical Fretilin party were used by Indonesia as the pretexts for its military invasion late in 1975.

Indonesia has sought to justify its forced takeover on several grounds.

First, flying in the face of its earlier statements of respect for East Timor's territorial integrity, it suggests that East Timor is a colonial aberration which should be 'naturally' part of Indonesia. This is nonsense. Many countries are colonial creations. The same reasoning would equally allow Indonesia to annex, for argument's sake, Papua New Guinea or the States of Malaysia, both of which, like East Timor, share borders with Indonesia and have some cultural, historical and racial affinity with one or other of Indonesia's ethnic peoples.

Second, Indonesia suggests an independent East Timor would not be politically or economically viable, that it could only survive as part of some larger entity. The facts are that East Timor could stand on its own given regional good-will and economic support from abroad, which Indonesia itself requires. Some 30 member-states of the UN have populations of less than 1 million like East Timor.

Third, Jakarta maintains it acted for humanitarian reasons, that it had a moral responsibility to step in and pacify the warring factions and lead the country to genuine self-determination. The facts are that the invasion came several months after the end of the civil war, and at a time when East Timor was at peace and being capably administered by Fretilin. Hawkish generals forced the decision to invade, not out of concern for the Timorese but, I believe, because of their paranoia about Fretilin which to them appeared to be extremist but which, in fact, espoused a moderate set of policies common to many peoples emerging from colonialism.

They further claim that the East Timorese people exercised their right to self-determination in mid-1976 when an assembly of selected Timorese petitioned Jakarta to incorporate East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province. This process has been universally rejected as a political joke. The UN has refused to accept its validity including the Thatcher Government, and Reagan administration and the Australian Government - none of whom could be regarded as the enemy of Indonesia. As in West Irian, the act of free choice in East Timor was, in reality, an 'act of no choice'.

The truth is that Indonesia's invasion has violated international law and the principles of the UN charter. For this it has been rightly condemned by the United Nations. Its so-called liberation was in fact naked aggression which resulted in wholesale and unforgiveable bloodshed and suffering. Since 1975, between 100,000 and 200,000, that is between 1 in 6 and 1 in 3 of the population, have died as a result of Indonesian military activity and associated factors such as famine. The Washington-based Centre for Defense Information reported in 1983 that East Timor was one of the longest running and most violent of the 40 conflicts then raging in the world. Only in Kampuchea and possibly Afghanistan had more people died, said the Centre.

Indonesia has employed a range of strategies in its attempts to subjugate East Timor and remove the issue from the agenda of the international community. I would now like to list the principal measures tried and address each one in turn.

1. War: Indonesia continues to wage war today in East Timor as part of its campaign to eliminate the guerilla resistance. In 1976 General Benny Murdani predicted confidently it would take 3 weeks to subdue East Timor. Two years later in 1978, General Dading said it would all be over by the end of that year. But in 1981 Indonesia found it necessary to launch a fresh offensive and again in 1983. Indonesia has repeatedly asserted the Fretilin resistance has been reduced to a couple of hundred or less and was a spent force without popular support. Yet it still maintains some 10,000 troops in East Timor, backed by helicopters, tanks and OV-10 counter-insurgency aircraft. Church sources recently reported that Fretilin guerilla activity has intensified this year. Recently Fretilin commenced broadcasting by radio again to the

outside world. This does not, of itself, require strength of numbers but, taken together, the evidence is clear that Fretilin is sufficiently well-organised, supported and equipped to present a serious challenge to Indonesia even if, as it admits, it cannot win the war outright.

2. Repression: Indonesia has continually sought to intimidate the resistance by physical violence. As the head of the Catholic Church, Mgr Belo, said in July last year "In many places there are violations of human rights, assassinations and cases of arrest and imprisonment without trial, of anyone suspected of having links with Fretilin. The families of the prisoners are in bad condition". Amnesty International believes the pattern of human rights violations established over many years continues substantially the same in 1985. These abuses, says Amnesty, include the use of torture, disappearances and extra-judicial killings. So concerned is Amnesty that it will launch an international campaign on human rights violations in East Timor on June 26. Some 2,000 prisoners are being held on an island off the north coast of Timor, Atauro. Others have been sent to jails in Java, not to mention prisons on mainland Timor.

3. Resettlement: Since 1979 Indonesia has resettled the bulk of the tribal people from the interior in some 400 resettlement centres, usually referred to by East Timorese as 'concentration camps'. The purpose of this measure is to control movement, and to isolate the guerilla resistance from the people. The Americans employed a similar strategy in Vietnam. Traditionally Timorese have lived in scattered extended family units and in close spiritual affinity with the land. Their concentration in centres away from their land and traditional life-style has had a shattering psychological, cultural and economic impact.

4. Development: Since 1980 in particular, Indonesia has spent large sums of money on public works in an attempt to consolidate integration, and win both international approval and the hearts and minds of the Timorese. Selected foreign visitors have been permitted to make short visits to observe the resulting material changes and many have come away singing Indonesia's praises. But there has been scant mention of Timorese attitudes. In fact they feel alienated. "The development programme has not satisfied the Timorese. It has not made them happy. They feel it is not for them, but for Indonesia", said Mgr Belo last year.

5. Indonesianisation: This involves the introduction of Indonesian transmigrants, business people and civil servants, the teaching of Indonesian language and culture in the many schools, the acculturation of the young in Indonesian universities in Java and so on. This worries the Church greatly. A strong Church statement prepared in January this year comments: "The attempt to Indonesianise the Timorese people through powerful Pancasila campaigns, schooling and media, by divorcing the people from their own world-view, represents a slow assassination of Timorese culture. To kill their culture is to kill the people themselves".

6. Propaganda: Jakarta campaigns energetically to convince the world that the East Timorese are happy and prospering and that resistance is minimal. Its embassies distribute glossy booklets full of colour pictures of new buildings and Timorese in traditional costume. From time to time, carefully selected delegations of MPs from countries friendly to Indonesia and journalists are permitted access. Their visits invariably last for 3 days and are accompanied by heavy ceremonial and security measures. But access such as is permitted in, for example, the Philippines, El Salvador or South Africa, is denied. Independent observers such as Amnesty International or the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London, or the International Council of Voluntary Aid Agencies, each of whom has requested permission to visit, continue to be blocked. One can only conclude Indonesia has much to hide and wishes to avoid close scrutiny and particularly open access to the people. Access by the International Committee of the Red Cross continues to be severely restricted. The President of the ICRC, Alexandre Hay, said in Geneva in January this year that East Timor was one of the few countries where the ICRC is prevented from giving satisfactory relief to the victims of military conflict.

Taken as a whole, however, these measures have failed to crush the spirit of resistance of the East Timorese people or to allay the concern of the international community. In fact non-government expressions of concern have increased in recent times. The Vatican, the Indonesian and Portuguese Bishops and a growing number of other Church organisations have raised their voices in protest. Recently 133 members of the United States Congress, the largest number ever to sign such a letter, requested President Reagan to put East Timor on his agenda as part of a search for an 'authentic peace'. Earlier this month over 400 Parliamentarians from 13 countries called for a negotiated settlement of the conflict based on the right of the Timorese people to self-determination.

Timorese resistance to integration with Indonesia should not be measured in purely military terms. Their antipathy is also reflected in their attitude and in their faces. A West German MP who visited earlier this year as a guest of the Indonesian Government was forced to conclude, and I quote: "The overall impression throughout the entire island is of a place in captivity. The people never smile. Here in East Timor the people look stern, bitter, hostile and numb". That observation has been made frequently over the years. Why it should be so I think I have adequately explained.

Is there resistance in East Timor?
Don't look for it in the shop windows
don't expect to see it
marching down the narrow streets.
To see the resistance
listen to the hearts of the people
touch their clenched fists
read their consciences.

But perhaps the most significant non-military expression of resistance comes from the church in East Timor.

The Catholic Church, to which some 80% of the people chose to say they belonged in their responses to the Indonesian census of 1980, is 'walking with the people', to use the words of a Timorese layman. Its network of missions keeps it well-informed about events and attitudes. What it says, then, should be listened to closely for it faithfully reflects the mind of the mass of the East Timorese.

The Church's principal pastor and spokesperson, Mgr Belo, is very clear.

What we want, he is saying, are the following:

1. an end to hostilities;
2. the withdrawal of Indonesian troops;
3. respect for the culture, religion and identity of the Timorese people;
4. a non-violent, diplomatic solution based on the right of the people to self-determination;
5. negotiations between the Timorese people, including Fretilin, and Indonesia.

This last point goes to the heart of the matter.

In 1982, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, was instructed by the United Nations General Assembly to initiate consultations with all interested parties with a view to achieving a comprehensive settlement. He has convened talks between Portugal and Indonesia. These are proceeding. But the Timorese people, the principal party to the conflict, who stand to lose or gain most by the negotiations, have not been represented at these talks, have not been consulted and, furthermore, the Secretary-General has given no commitment to involve them, despite our United Nations recognised right to self-determination. Once again we are obliged to sit outside in the waiting room while others talk for us and about us; once again we are to be the objects of history about whom others paternalistically make decisions. This is not a recipe for success. It flies in the face of common sense and the basic rights of human beings. The Timorese will not accept a settlement negotiated behind our backs by the colonial powers. A face-saving solution of convenience may serve the political purpose of removing the issue from the international agenda but it will not bring lasting peace to East Timor any more than a similar arrangement nearly 20 years ago achieved lasting peace in West Irian.

Just as the people of East Timor have turned to the local Church, now the Church of East Timor itself looks to the international Church for support in its lonely and difficult struggle to be faithful - both to the Gospel and its people. We are blood brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ. On this basis, and on this basis alone, I appeal to you to take up our cause with your Churches and Governments in the interests of achieving a just and lasting peace for my beloved people.

Fr Francisco Fernandes

Seoul, June 1985

APPENDIX 7

총회소식

Christian Conference of Asia
Eighth Assembly

June 26 – July 2 1985
Seoul

No 5
2 July

INDONESIAN CHURCHES SHOCK ASSEMBLY

In an unexpected action, the Indonesian Churches announced to a surprised Assembly on the second last day that they had decided not to participate in the decision making in CCA for the next five years.

Announcing the decision, the Rev. Ms. Augustina Lumentut requested her name be removed from the proposed list of names for the General Committee and explained the reasons for the Indonesian decision.

"The Indonesian delegation has come to the situation where we could not help feeling that we, as Churches in Asia, are being pushed to conduct our business in the Assembly in such a way that we lose our uniqueness of being church" she explained. Ms Lumentut stressed that the decision was not to be interpreted as Indonesia withdrawing from participation in the CCA.

"We have decided we should continue our support of the program of the CCA" she said.

"By allowing us to be absent from the decision making bodies you help us in our efforts to understand ourselves better and in what way we are lacking in our participation in CCA" she told the silent Assembly.

Explaining the action, Dr. Bert Supit, another Indonesian delegate said the attempt of our Churches to express their role and responsibilities in Indonesia and in Asia have not be understood. "We are probably quite far from you" he said.

"We hope we can find the spirit that has wandered within the CCA since Prapat" he continued. "We tried hard to find the spirit but believe this spirit is fading away."

"Some of the discussions in the past days, particularly yesterday (East Timor -Ed) have strengthened our concerns" he said. "Forgive us, we will not withdraw from CCA" he concluded.

The Rev. Oh Jae Shik of Korea responded and appealed to "our sisters and brothers in Indonesia to share information on their concerns".

"I plead to the Assembly that this matter be taken seriously so our hearts may be clear before we leave this plenary session" he said.

The Rev. Ron O'Grady, representing the New Zealand Churches of Christ acknowledged that CCA had changed since Prapat. (CCA was founded in Prapat, Indonesia in 1957. It was known as the East Asia Conference of Churches (EACC .) Ed), but the style is same even though the agenda has changed". "The structures are not adequate to deal with the issues that arise" he said. "We must look for a structure where we can work together and preserve our unity" he said.

The Rev. David Gill of Australia, added his plea for Indonesia to reconsider. "We feel our fellowship will be greatly impoverished if you take this action" he said.

Retiring General Secretary, Dr.Yap Kim Hao also appealed to Indonesia to give further

p. 2

consideration but conceded that "certain circumstances have precipitated what has been smouldering for a long time and I have sought to interpret their feelings to CCA."

The discussion ended when the Assembly granted permission for the Rev Lumentut to withdraw her name and the General Committee was elected with a vacancy for an Indonesian representative.

EAST TIMOR

After three days of debate charged with emotion and concern, some 80 people attending the CCA Assembly listened to East Timorese Catholic Priest Father Fransisco Fernandes describe the situation in his war **torn** country.

"I am deeply conscious of my responsibility to my people who are one of the few oppressed peoples in the world to be persistently denied the freedom to speak for themsevles," he began.

In his 8 page statement, Fr. Fernandes briefly related the history of the struggle in East Timor and critically analysed the four justifications given by Indonesia for its forced takeover of East Timor in 1975.

"Since 1975, between 100,000 and 200,000, that is between 1 in 6 and 1 in 3 of the population, have died as a result of Indonesian military activity and associated factors such as famine" he said.

Father Fernandes quoted the Washington based Centre for Defence Information as having reported in 1983 that East Timor was one of the longest running and most violent of the 40 conflicts then raging in the world. "Only in Kampuchea and possibly Afghanistan had more people died", said the centre.

"In 1976 General Benny Murdani (head of the Indonesia Armed forces) predicted confidently it would take 3 weeks to subdue East Timor" said Fr. Fernandes. "Yet it still maintains some 10,000 troops in East Timor, backed by helicopters, tanks and OV-10 counter insurgency aircraft" he said.

But perhaps the most significant non-military expression of resistance comes from the church in East Timor.

The Catholic Church, to which some 80% of the people chose to say they belonged in their responses to the Indonesian census of 1980, is 'walking with the people', to use the words of a Timorese layman. Its network of missions keeps it well-informed about events and attitudes. What it says, then, should be listened to closely for it faithfully reflects the mind of the mass of the East Timorese.

The Church's principal pastor and spokesperson, Mgr Belo, is very clear.

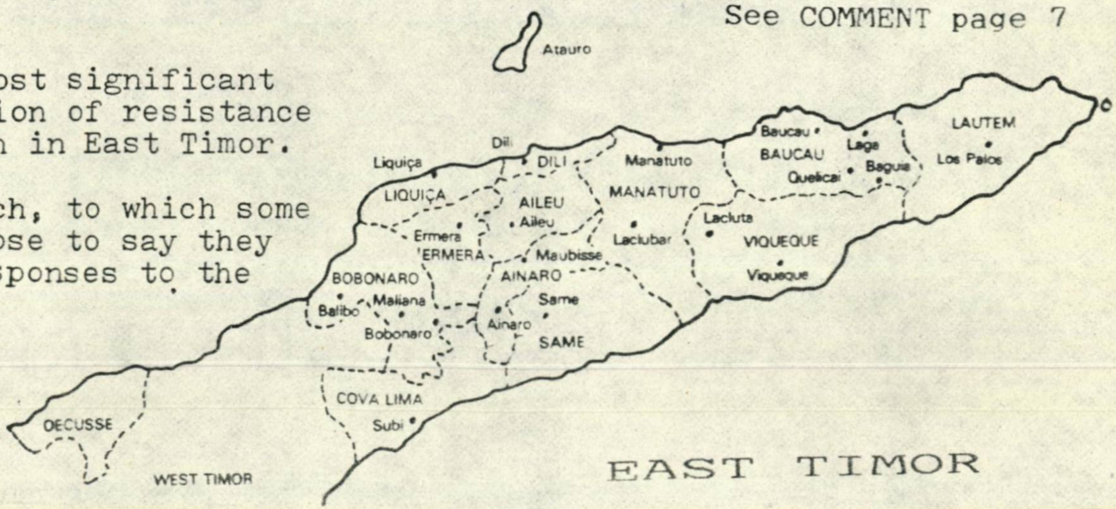
What we want, he is saying, are the following :-

1. an end to hostilities;
2. the withdrawal of Indonesian troops;
3. respect for the culture, religion and identity of the Timorese people;
4. a non-violent, diplomatic solution based on the right of the people to self-determination;
5. negotations between the Timorese people, including Fretilin, and Indonesia.

Father Fernandes concluded with an appeal to the CCA and the Churches of Asia

"Just as the people of East Timor have turned to the local Church, now the Church of East Timor itself looks to the international Church for support in its lonely and difficult struggle to be faithful - both to the Gospel and its people. We are blood brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ. On this basis, and on this basis alone, I appeal to you to take up our cause with your Churches and Governments in the interests of achieving a just and lasting peace for my beloved people."

See COMMENT page 7



EAST TIMOR

COMMENT ON TIMOR

The World Council of Churches is often accused of double standards in the statements it makes. The West is vehemently criticised, it is alleged; the East is rarely rebuked, and then only mildly. The USA is condemned, in strong words, for its role in Latin America and elsewhere; not Russia for what has appened in Afghanistan.

There is an ambivalence, and it has been the target of western media for many years. It is also deeply resented by Christian people in many parts of the world.

But this is not "the heresy of good ecumenical relations". It is ecumenical maturity. The West is criticised because, by and large, the societies are open. In spite of moral majorities and similar aberrations, there the churches can still influence the policies of governments. Not so in closed societies. In such situations we do not only endanger the witness of the churches and cut them off from the ecumenical fellowship; our actions also become counterproductive.

Nor can we impose martyrdom on others. We can only accept it voluntarily.

Is there not a parallel between the predicament of churches in closed socialist societies and churches in closed religious societies?

TKT

STATEMENT OF THE INDONESIAN DELEGATION ON EAST TIMOR TO THE CCA 8TH ASSEMBLY
SEOUL, KOREA, JULY 2, 1985

I. Introduction

Due to the fact that during the proceedings of the CCA 8th Assembly, continuous and persistent attempts have been made through writings and provocations by a group of participants to raise the issue of East Timor and make it an agenda of the CCA Assembly, the Indonesian delegation has made the following observations:

(1) That it had protested strongly against these attempts and that it has demanded the withdrawal of all documents on East Timor that was circulated among the Assembly participants.

(2) The Indonesian delegation questioned and challenged the credibility of CCA and the Organising Committee of the 8th Assembly, how it was possible that a Fretilin person could be invited to the Assembly without knowledge of the Indonesian delegation and the invitation of an Indonesian East Timor participant.

(3) The Indonesian delegation questioned and challenged the credibility of the Steering Committee on the handling of the whole dynamic proceedings of the Assembly.

(4) The Indonesian delegation is always open for discussion on any issue about the Indonesian situation but that should be done in a proper way and not being pushed or being provoked in a very unsympathetic method.

The Indonesian delegation feels that a proper time was available for participants of the Assembly to raise questions on East Timor during the lecture of Dr Eka Darmaputra about the Indonesian experience but that was not used unfortunately.

(5) In spite of these, the Indonesian delegation feels that nevertheless it would be good for the spirit of the Assembly that the Indonesian delegation could be accommodative and share its view on East Timor to the Assembly participants. It does however do so with the hope that no discussions will be followed due to the above mentioned concerns. Discussions in a bad atmosphere will only damaged the ecumenical spirit and solidarity.

II Informative Sharing

(1) The present situations in East Timor is a consequence of Colonial time like Goa in India and Macao in China.

(2) The island of Timor was divided by Holland and Portugal artificially into West and East Timor. As a consequence of this colonial division on both sides of the border lives families, relatives and clans even as far as the island Alor on the Indonesian side. Colonial rule had indeed divided families and relatives and clans as well.

(3) Centuries of Portugese colonial rule had indeed left its mark on a certain group of people on East Timor, but this is a minority group, an elite who could attend or enjoy Portugese education. This had left the majority of East Timor people without any education at all.

(4) Over 90% of the population of East Timor were still illiterate over a period of 400 year colonial rule. These people were being exploited by Portugese colonial rule together with the few East Timor elite as labourers of coffee plantation in co-operation with another smaller group of Chinese traders. While more than 400 years nothing has been done for the development of the people. It was also the same case in Portugal itself where education is lacking for the common people which should be programmes of social justices actually.

These are i.a. prerequisites to understand the background of the present East Timor.

III (1) Ten years when the Portugese colonial power broke down to exist as a consequence of the revolution in Portugal several political parties were in East Timor which are eg. the Fretilin as well as other groups who were fighting each other for the control of East Timor. This had indeed led to a civil war where at that moment Indonesia was being asked by the majority of the East Timor groups to help them in their struggle for liberation out of colonial rule.

Indonesia of course could not refuse the invitation in view of the vacuum of power which was the result of Portugese incapability to control East Timor anymore, and Indonesia therefore make the move to prevent that a "superpower" would intervene in her backyard.

III (2) It is not true that mass killings has taken place in East Timor. The purpose of the Indonesian army in East Timor is not to attempt mass killings, but rather to implement the invitation of the East Timor people to be integrated to their families and other relatives and clams from the western part of Timor and the other ethnic groups of the Indonesia Archpelago.

East Timor with 700,000 population of which 400,000 are still animists has now become one of the Provinces of the Republic of Indonesia.

(3) Because of the open confrontation of a small group of Fretilin to the Indonesian armed forces it is indeed regrettable that some of the East Timor people has become the victims of this confrontation. This is of course a tragedy and this tragedy should indeed be ended.

IV (1) The Communion of Churches in Indonesia stands for this ending of open confrontation and the solving of the social problems for an enduring reconciliation. But this could only be done within the frame work of the Republic of Indonesia.

(2) Indonesia has since the day of Independence from the Dutch colonial rule proven that it is possible within the ideology and constitution of the Indonesian Republic to preserve the so many ethnic groups with their own cultural, traditional and religious identity within the one Indonesian nation.

Indonesia is a typical sample of a state and nation consisting out of so many ethnic groups, where different backgrounds as religion, traditions and cultural values can exist, because of the Principles and Foundations formulated in the Pancasila Ideology.

The motto of the Indonesian nation is namely, "Bhineka Tunggal Tkar"which is "Unity in Diversity", and Indonesia has indeed promote these principles and values to everyone that has come to Indonesia and all of them has recognise this.

(3) It is indeed regrettable that the Fretilin are working against these Indonesian phenomenon and has provoked the presence of the Indonesian armed forces.

(4) Contrary to the 400 years of Portugese colonial rule where almost nothing has happened to the vast majority of the East Timor people, the Government of Indonesia has built within a relative short time hundreds of schools, Health Centres, Agricultural and developmental programmes and projects which has changed completely the face of East Timor as a whole.

(5) The Communion of Churches in Indonesia is indeed very much engaged also in the social welfare and development in East Timor by sending 7 of its motivators to the remote villages of East Timor.

It is participating in many humanitarian programmes and projects. The CCI has engaged in several important discussions on East Timor with the NCC of Australia and Papua New Guinea to explain the Indonesian Churches standpoint and involvements in East Timor.

Other Government humanitarian effort, is the repatriation of families in East Timor who wanted to live and join their relatives outside East Timor whether in Portugal or in Australia.

(6) It is still regrettable that the Vatican has not yet recognised the Diocese of East Timor within the Indonesian Catholic Bishops Conference which is also one of the reasons that make it difficult for the Catholic Relief Service in its action.

Finally the Indonesian delegation hopes that through this information our East Timor brother who is "present" in this Assembly will be more familiar to the present situation in the East Timor rather than to keep clinging to the pre-Indonesian reality.

Thank you very much for your attention.

DECLARATION ON BEHALF OF EAST TIMOR

The following organisations have signed this declaration (at the time of printing more signature are arriving from India which will be included in an up-dated list):

AUSTRALIA

1. Brigidine Sisters - Clovelly, NSW
2. Australian Student Christian Movement
3. 13 individual Christians - Alice Springs, Northern Territory
4. Uniting Church - Fitzroy, Victoria
5. World Christian Action - Victoria
6. Christians for Justice in the Philippines - Melbourne, Victoria
7. Church and Society Commission of North Queensland
8. Catholic Education Office: Mission and Justice Group - Victoria
9. Australian Catholic Relief
10. Religious Education Centre - Ballarat Diocese, Victoria
11. Clergy for Peace - Victoria
12. Pax Christi - Sydney, NSW
13. Catholics for Peace - Ballarat, Victoria
14. Catholics for Peace - Melbourne, Victoria
15. Diocesan Youth Apostolate Team - Archdiocese of Melbourne, Victoria
16. National Catholic Missionary Council
17. Catholic Social Justice Groups Network - Melbourne, Victoria
18. Yarra Theological Union - Box HIll, Victoria
19. Asian Bureau Australia
20. Action for World Development - NSW Region
21. Action for World Development - Victorian Region
22. Justice Extension Group - Morphett Vale, South Australia
23. Catholic Community - Adelaide University, South Australia
24. Taskforce of Baptist Social Justice Group - Newport, Victoria
25. Froggatt Christian Community - Ainslie, ACT
26. Quaker Peace and Social Justice Committee - Hobart, Tasmania
27. St Mary's Social Justice Group - Greensborough, Victoria
28. St Joseph's Peace and Justice Group - Collingwood, Victoria
29. St Colman's Social Guild - Mortlake, Victoria
30. Presbytery of Nepean, Uniting Church - Melbourne, Victoria

31. St Columba's Parish Pastoral Council - Ballarat, Victoria
32. Holy Family Parish - Bell Park, Victoria
33. St Thomas Moore's Peace and Justice Group - Belgrave, Victoria
34. Catholic Social Justice Group - Canberra, ACT
35. Uniting Church - Montmorency, Victoria
36. Parish Council - Warrnambool, Victoria
37. St Colman's Parish - Mortlake, Victoria
38. Good Shephard Social Justice Group - Mulgrave, Victoria
39. Vaucluse College - Richmond, Victoria
40. Presentation Social Justice Group - Elsternwick, Victoria
41. Sisters of Mercy - Adelaide, South Australia
42. Sisters of Mercy: Mercy and Justice Committee - Ballarat, Victoria
43. Sisters of Mercy - Ballarat North, Victoria
44. 3 individual Christians - Ballarat Diocese, Victoria
45. Sisters of Mercy Justice Group - Rosanna, Victoria
46. Sisters of Sion - Kensington, Victoria
47. Society of the Sacred Heart - Mosman, NSW
48. Sisters of St Joseph Provincial Council - Victoria Province
49. Little Sisters of Jesus - Alice Springs, Northern Territory
50. Good Shephard Sisters - Richmond, Victoria
51. Good Shephard Sisters Provincial Council - Australia
52. Brigidine Sisters - Coonamble, NSW
53. Presbytery of Illawarra, Uniting Church - Wollongong East, NSW

FIJI

1. Officers of Pacific Conference of Churches - Suva

HONG KONG

1. Mary Knoll Sisters - Chinese University
2. Mary Knoll Sisters - Local community
3. Missionary Sisters of St Columban - Kowloon
4. P.I.M.E. Fathers Social Concern Group - Wong Tai Sin
5. Canossian Daughters of Charity

6. Star of the Sea Church - Chaiwan
7. Missions Etrangeres de Paris - Chaiwan
8. International Young Christian Workers - Asia/Pacific Secretariat
9. Justice and Peace Commission
10. Centre for the Progress of Peoples - Kowloon
11. Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre - Shatin
12. Hotline Asia Oceania - Kowloon

JAPAN

1. National Christian Council Peace Committee
2. National Christian Council
3. Christian Social Centre - Hiroshima
4. World Friendship Centre - Hiroshima
5. Resource Centre for Philippine Concerns - Tokyo
6. Research-Action Institute for the Koreans - Tokyo
7. Christian Committee to Support the Independence and Peace of East Timor - Zentsuji
8. Nippon Kirieuto Kijodan, Ozorayama Church
9. Mennonite Christ Church - Hiroshima
10. Kure Heian Church - Kureshi
11. Kure Yamate Church - Hiroshima-ken
12. Order of Capuchin Friars Minor - Okinawa
13. Missionary Society of St Columban - Japan Region
14. YWCA - Kumamato
15. YWCA - Yokohama
16. YWCA - Kobe
17. YWCA - Osaka
18. YWCA - Kyoto
19. YWCA - Kure
20. Catholic Council for Justice and Peace
21. YWCA - Nagoya
22. Japan YWCA - Tokyo

NEW ZEALAND

1. District Council of the Society of St Vincent de Paul - Wanganui
2. Sacred Heart College - Wanganui

3. Sacred Heart Amnesty
4. National Team of 'Renew' - Wellington
5. St Gregory's Social Concerns Group - Christchurch
6. St Mary's Catholic Parish Council - Wanganui
7. Rangiora Parish Council - Rangiora
8. Council of Priest - Christchurch Diocese
9. Catholic Commission for Justice and Development - Christchurch
10. Friends Settlement - Wanganui

PHILIPPINES

1. Alliance of Christian Youth in the Philippines - Quezon City
2. Student Christian Movement

SOLOMON ISLANDS

1. Dominican Sisters of Australia and the Solomon Islands - Holy Rosary Vicariate, Gizo
2. Dominican Fathers, Loga - Gizo

TONGA

1. Catholic Diocese of Tonga
2. Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary - Nuku'alofa
3. Kolomatua Catholic Parish - Nuku'alofa

PNG

1. Catholic Diocese of Bouganville - Bishop Gregory Singkai

Declaration on behalf of East Timor

Dear Friends,

Your support is earnestly requested for the Declaration on behalf of East Timor printed below.

The Declaration has been prepared by Lord Avebury, Chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group in the British Parliament. It received the full support of an international conference on East Timor held at the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London in January.

In 1976 Indonesia integrated East Timor without any act of self-determination. Since then resistance has continued and the people have suffered many privations and human rights violations giving rise to widespread international concern.

In 1982 the UN General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to 'initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem'.

Since then consultations have taken place under the Secretary-General's auspices but have involved only Portugal and Indonesia. The principal party to the conflict, the East Timorese people, has been excluded. The Declaration challenges this state of affairs in the belief, to quote Lord Avebury, that 'any negotiations that do not include representatives of the Timorese people will fail to produce a lasting solution'.

In this the Declaration concurs with the Catholic Church in East Timor. In December 1984 the Head of the East Timorese Church, Mgr Belo, wrote to the Secretary of the French Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Fr Pierre Toulat: **'Despite all forces against us, we continue to hold and disseminate that the only solution to the East Timor conflict is a political and diplomatic one, and this solution should include, above all, the respect for the right of a people for self-determination . . . As long as this is not implemented, there will not be a peaceful solution for East Timor'.**

The Christians in Solidarity with East Timor committee (based in Melbourne, Australia) is circulating the Declaration to churches and church organisations in Australia, Asia and the Pacific, inviting their endorsement. CISET will present the Declaration and the names of those who endorse it to the Christian Conference of Asia Assembly in Seoul in June 1985. The Declaration and a list of its supporters will also be publicised.

Please return the signed Declaration to CISET, PO Box 1092, North Fitzroy 3068, Australia, no later than May 31, 1985.

Declaration on behalf of East Timor

Recognising that the territory of East Timor has been illegally occupied by Indonesia since December 1975, inflicting extreme loss of life and destruction;

Recognising that the Indonesian policy to isolate East Timor prevents the ICRC and other relief and development agencies from reaching those in need, and denies the international community opportunities to assess the wishes of the people independently;

Condemning the human rights violations committed since 1975, as reported by church leaders in East Timor and by independent human rights organisations;

Recognising that the East Timorese have been denied their right to self-determination;

Welcoming, finally, UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30 which asked the UN Secretary-General 'to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem', and acknowledging the steps which have been taken to bring Portugal and Indonesia into negotiations;

We affirm that negotiations will not lead to a just settlement unless they:

1. *Involve representatives of the East Timorese people including those who resist the present occupation.*
2. *Secure an end to hostilities which prevent the people of East Timor and their representatives from contributing freely to negotiations leading to self-determination.*
3. *Provide internationally acceptable conditions of access to relief and development agencies and to independent visitors, journalists and diplomats.*
4. *Include an act of self-determination, which is free from interference and verified by international observers acceptable to the East Timorese people.*

We commend all international initiatives which observe these principles, and will call upon our government to support actively a process of negotiation conducted on such terms.

We endorse the above Declaration.

Organisation ______________________________

Address ______________________________

Signature ____________________ **Position** ____________________

Appendix 10

RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

This Assembly:

- shares the deep concerns of the worldwide Christian community over the continuing suffering, violence and abuse of human rights in East Timor;

- expresses our solidarity with the church and people of East Timor in their struggle for peace and justice;

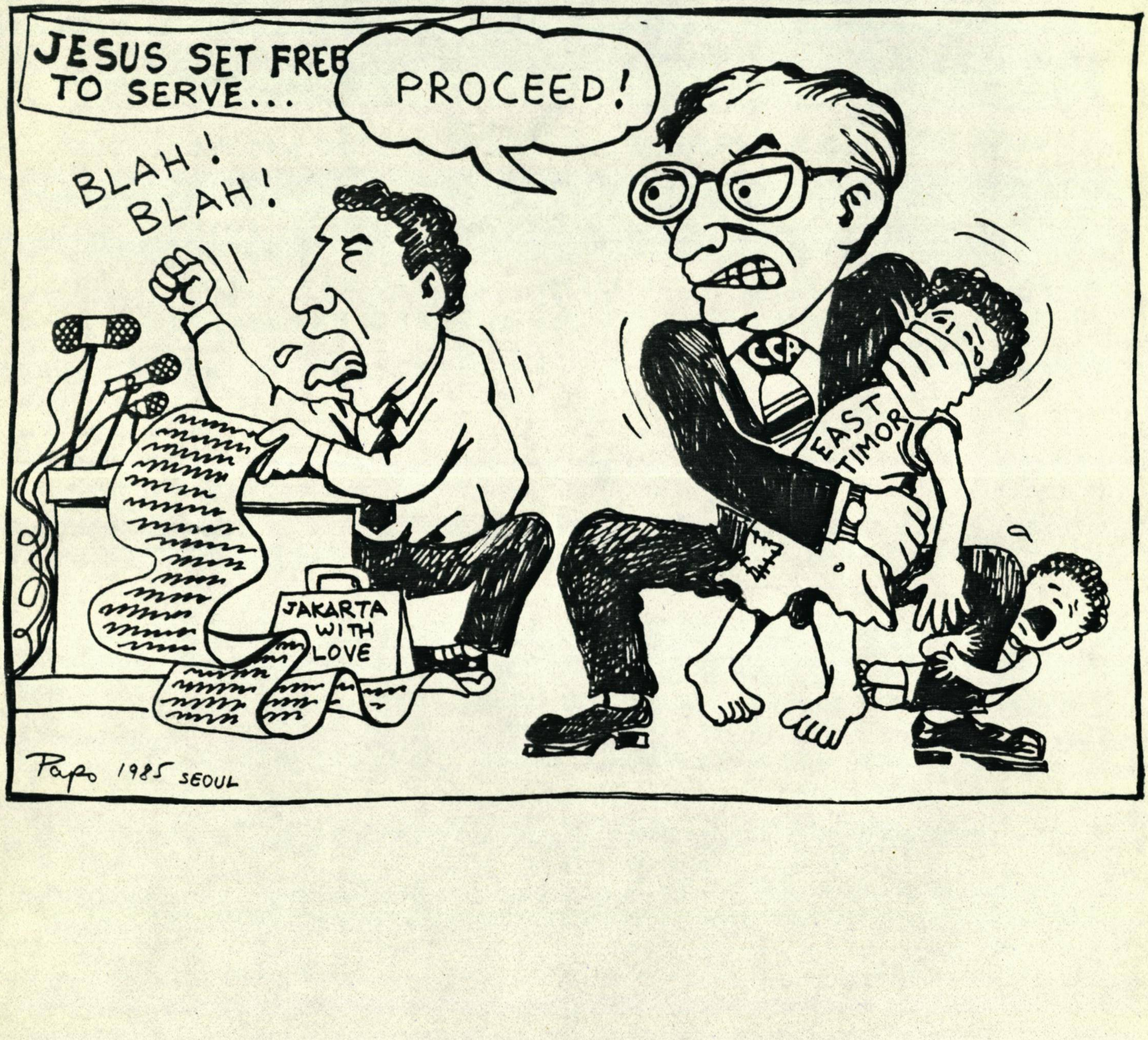
- joins with the head of the East Timorese church, Monsignor Belo, in calling for a cease-fire, the withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces and a dialogue between Indonesia and the Fretilin-led resistance;

- urges the UN Secretary-General and the Portuguese Government in their effort to achieve a political settlement, to uphold the right of the East Timorese to self-determination;

- and urges each delegate to this Assembly to seek the support of his/her own church and Government for a speedy and just settlement of the East Timor conflict.

Furthermore, we propose that the International Affairs Desk of CCA take up the issue of East Timor, along with the problem of West Papua (Irian Jaya); and that an ongoing programme be carried out beginning with an international consultation on this matter; and this be done as early as possible.

2 July 1985


JESUS SET FREE
TO SERVE...
PROCEED!
BLAH! BLAH!
CCA
EAST TIMOR
JAKARTA WITH LOVE
Papo 1985 SEOUL

Cartoon on Assembly Proceedings.

The silencing of the youth on the final day engendered a banner-size version of this cartoon intended for the final worship but voluntarily withdrawn at the last minute.